

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 00945 01 OF 02 041322Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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O 041030Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7837
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0945

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, TZ
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: FURTHER THOUGHTS FROM NYERERE

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 0939

1. SUMMARY: NYERERE REITERATED MORNING MARCH 4 THAT HE BELIEVED AAP-SPONSORED MEETING WITH ALL FOUR NATIONALIST LEADERS WAS ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO UN SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION WHICH WOULD END IN SHARP CONDEMNATION OF MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE AND DECISIVE SPLIT BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE WEST ON RHODESIA. HE EMPHASIZED THAT UK PLANS FOR A FOUR PARTY "RECONCILIATION SESSION" IN SC WILL NOT WORK. MAIN PURPOSE OF OUR MEETING, HOWEVER, NYERERE SAID, WAS TO WARN US NOT TO ALLOW ITSELF TO BECOME TIED TO BRITISH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IF IT DID, IT

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COULD THROW AWAY ITS ENORMOUS GAINS OF PAST YEAR. END SUMMARY.

2. AT HIS REQUEST, PRESIDENT NYERERE AND I HAD ANOTHER HOUR'S SESSION ON RHODESIA MORNING MARCH 4. PRESS SECRETARY SAMMY MDEE WAS ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT.

3. NYERERE BEGAN BY SAYING THAT HE HAD LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE TO ADD TO OUR DISCUSSION OF YESTERDAY. HE MERELY WANTED TO EMPHWSIZE AGAIN THAT TIME WAS RUNNING OUT AND THAT HE WAS VERY WORRIED. HE HOPED PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD FIND VIRTUE IN HIS A-A PLAN GENEVA CONFERENCE TYPE APPROACH. IT WAS, HE BELIEVED, THE ONLY ANSWER.

4. HE HAD HEARD THIS MORNING THAT UK WAS PRESSING FOR INVITATIONS FOR ALL FOUR ZIMBABWE LEADERS TO ATTEND "RECONCILIATION SESSION" AT SECURITY COUNCIL. THIS WAS VERY DIFFERENT THING FROM WHAT NYERERE HAD IN MIND WITH HIS CONFERENCE. IF THERE WAS AN SC SESSION IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY FURTHER MOVEMENT UNDER THE A-A PLAN, IT WAS NOT GOING TO BE A RECONCILIATION SESSION. IT WAS GOING TO BE A CONDEMNATION SESSION OF MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE AND OF EVERYONE WHO SYMPATHIZED WITH THEM. SUCH A SESSION WOULD LIKELY SIGNAL THE END OF AFRICAN-WESTERN COOPERATION ON RHODESIA.

5. NYERERE SAID PRINCIPAL THING HE WANTED TO SAY TO US IN PRIVACY THIS MORNING WAS TO WARN AGAINST US IRRETRIEVABLY TYING ITSELF TO BRITISH ON AFRICA. HE KNEW BRITISH WELL. HE UNDERSTOOD THEIR PROBLEMS AND INTERESTS AND THEIR INSTINCTIVE APPROACH. OWEN HAD EVEN TOLD HIM PRIVATELY THAT HE (OWEN) FOUND DEPTH OF US INTEREST AND COMMITMENT TO CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA EMBARRASSING. NYERERE UNDERSTOOD HOW THAT COULD BE SO. US COMMITMENT WAS FAR FROM EMBARRASSING TO NYERERE, HOWEVER.
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IT HAD MADE US MOST POPULAR GREAT POWER IN AFRICA DURING LAST YEAR AND HAD ENABLED NYERERE NOT ONLY TO WORK WITH US HIMSELF BUT TO BRING OTHER FL AND EVEN TO SOME DEGREE PF AND SWAPO TO WORK WITH AA PLAN.

6. US INTERESTS ARE CONTINENT-WIDE AND GLOBAL, SAID NYERERE. UK'S ARE FOCUSED ON SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA AND ARE COMMERCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL. OWEN NEVER DID LIKE THE AAP COMMITMENT IN THE ZIMBABWE ARMY; HE IS NOW HOPING SMITH'S PLAN WILL GIVE HIM A WAY OUT ON THIS. SOMEONE HAS TO TELL THE UK THAT IT CANNOT WIN THIS WAY. IT WILL LOSE ITS NARROW INTERESTS. INDEED, WHAT BETTER PROTECTION CAN THERE BE FOR BRITISH INTERESTS THAN THEIR FINDING A WAY TO IMPLEMENT THEM WHICH WOULD BE SUPPORTED BOTH BY AFRICA AND THE U.S.

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O 041030Z MAR 78
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0945

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

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7. I RESPONDED THAT I WAS SURE PRESIDENT NYERERE'S LETTER HAD REACHED PRESIDENT CARTER BY NOW. I WOULD SEND THE ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS PRESENTED THIS MORNING RIGHT ALONG TO WASHINGTON. I MENTIONED THAT OUR AMBASSADORS AND THEIR UK COUNTERPARTS HAD SEEN PRESIDENT MACHEL IN MAPUTO AND BRIGADIER GARBA IN LAGOS YESTERDAY AND DISCUSSED THE SAME MATTERS WE HAD COVERED HERE.

8. NYERERE SAID THAT MERE REAFFIRMATION OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN WAS NOT ENOUGH. OBASANJO HAD CALLED HIM LAST NIGHT DEMANDING TO KNOW WHAT WAS GOING ON AND HE HAD SENT FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA TO LAGOS TODAY TO TRY AND EXPLAIN. (IT WAS IMPLICIT THAT MKAPA WOULD BE URGING SUPPORT FOR HIS GENEVA-CON-

REFERENCE APPROACH TO SAVE THE A-AP IN NIGERIA.) NYERERE SAID

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HE HAD ALERTED HIS AMBASSADOR TO LONDON TO GET HOLD OF MUZOREWA BEFORE THE LATTER SAW OWEN AND TO TELL THE BISHOP TO GET OUT. HE ASKED IF I KNEW THE SPECIFICS OF MUZOREWA'S AND SITHOLE'S TRAVEL PLANS AND I SAID I'D SEE IF I HAD ANYTHING AND LET HIM KNOW.

9. I ASKED IF HE HAD STUDIED THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT ANNOUNCED

YESTERDAY. IT STRUCK ME THAT IT WAS VERY VAGUE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF BOTH POLITICAL AND MILITARY POWER UNDER THE NEW ARRANGEMENT. NYERERE SAID THAT WAS SO THAT SMITH COULD DEFINE IT ANYWAY HE LIKED TO MAINTAIN HIS POWER. I AGREED BUT WONDERED IF THE SAME VAGUENESS DID NOT PRESENT MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO FORCE SMITH'S HAND. IF THEY PRESSED, HE WOULD EITHER HAVE TO GIVE THEM REAL POWER OR MAKE IT APPARENT THE AGREEMENT WAS A FARCE. NYERERE DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY BUT SEEMED AT LEAST MILDLY TAKEN WITH THE IDEA.

10. AT THE END OF THE MEETING, MDEE TOOK ME ASIDE TO ASK IF I COULD REPEAT THE POINTS I HAD MENTIONED IN MY FIRST CONVERSATION WITH NYERERE MARCH 3 ON WHAT MIGHT BE THE "MINIMUM ESSENTIALS" FOR UK-PF AGREEMENT (DAR 0937, PARA 9). I DID SO, EMPHASIZING MY MENTION OF THESE HAD BEEN ONLY A PERSONAL, ANALYTICAL OBSERVATION, NOT A STATEMENT OF FACT OR POLICY. MDEE NOTED THAT BUT INDICATED THAT NYERERE WAS INTERESTED IN "THIS MATTER OF MINIMUM ESSENTIALS" BETWEEN THE PF AND THE A-A PLAN. SPAIN

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